NPT Fourth Review Conference
Geneva, 20 August - 14 September 1990

NPT/CONF.IV/MC.I/CRP.1
ENGLISH ONLY
24 August 1990

MEXICO: WORKING PAPER CONTAINING A

DRAFT OUTLINE OF THE REVIEW OF THE NPT'S OPERATION: ARTICLE VI AND PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS 8 TO 12

I. Cessation of the nuclear arms race (page 2)

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Note: The three sections are based on the Treaty's Article VI and the Preamble. Each section is divided into five sub-sections:

A. Texts from the Treaty
B. Texts from the 1975 Final Declaration
C. Texts from the 1985 Final Declaration
D. Developments since 1985
E. Conclusions and objectives prior to 1995

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I. CESSATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

A. Article VI and the Preamble

The Conference undertook an evaluation of the achievements in regard to:

-- the first provision of article VI, wherein each of the Parties has undertaken to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date;

-- preambular paragraphs 8 and 9, wherein the Parties declared their intention to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race and urged the co-operation of all States in the attainment of this objective;

-- preambular paragraph 10, wherein the Parties recalled the determination expressed by the Parties to the 1963 Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water in its Preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end; and

-- preambular paragraph 11, wherein the Parties expressed their desire to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

B. From the Final Declaration of the 1975 Review Conference

1. The Conference recalled that, in the Final Declaration of the 1975 Review Conference, the State Parties:

-- expressed their firm conviction that in order to achieve universal adherence to the Treaty it is essential to maintain, in the implementation of the Treaty, an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of all States Party to the Treaty, nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States;

-- were convinced that the prevention of any further proliferation of nuclear weapons will be furthered by more rapid progress towards the cessation of the nuclear arms race;

-- reaffirmed their commitment to implement fully and more effectively the Treaty's provisions; and

-- reaffirmed the vital role of the Treaty in international efforts to achieve the cessation of the nuclear arms race.

2. The Conference recalled that, in its Final Declaration, the 1975 Conference:

-- expressed its serious concern that the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, was continuing unabated;

-- urged constant and resolute efforts by each of the Parties to the Treaty, in particular by the nuclear-weapon States, to achieve an early and effective implementation of Article VI;

-- expressed the view that the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests was one of the most important measures to halt the nuclear arms race;

-- appealed to the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty to make every effort to reach agreement on the conclusion of an effective comprehensive test ban; and

-- noted that, not withstanding earlier progress, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament had recently been unable to reach agreement on new substantive measures to advance the objectives of Article VI.

C. From the Final Declaration of the 1985 Review Conference

1. The Conference recalled that, in the Final Declaration of the 1985 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, the States Party to the Treaty solemnly declared:

-- their continued support for the objectives of the Treaty including the cessation of the nuclear arms race; and

-- their determination to enhance the implementation of the Treaty.

2. The Conference recalled that, in its Final Declaration, the 1985 Conference noted that:

-- the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations concluded, in paragraph 50 of its Final Document, that the achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiations of agreements for, inter alia, cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems, of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, and of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes;

-- the destructive potentials of the nuclear arsenals of the nuclear-weapons States Parties were undergoing continuing development, including, inter alia, continued nuclear testing and development of new delivery systems and their deployment;

-- bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America had been held in 1985 to consider questions concerning space and nuclear arms and that no agreements had emerged so far;

-- the trilateral negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty, begun in 1977 between the nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty, had not continued after 1980, that the Committee on Disarmament and later the Conference on Disarmament had been called upon by the General Assembly in successive years to begin negotiations on such a Treaty, and noted that such negotiations had not been initiated;

-- the last five years had not given any results concerning negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race.

3. The Conference also recalled that the 1985 Review Conference took note in its Final Declaration of:

-- the concerns expressed regarding the potential of a new environment, space, being drawn into the arms race;

-- the lack of progress on relevant items of the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, in particular those relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race;

-- the appeals contained in five successive United Nations General Assembly resolutions since 1981 for a moratorium on nuclear weapon testing pending the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban Treaty, and of similar calls made at the Conference and set out in Annex I of the Final Declaration; and

-- the appeals contained in five United Nations General Assembly resolutions since 1982 for a freeze on all nuclear weapons in quantitative and qualitative terms, and similar calls made at the Conference and set out in Annex I of the Final Declaration.

4. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference concluded in its Final Declaration that, since no agreements had been achieved in the period under review on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date, the aspirations contained in preambular paragraphs 8 to 12 had still not been met, and the objectives under Article VI had not yet been achieved.

5. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference reaffirmed in its Final Declaration that:

-- a comprehensive test ban treaty would make an important contribution toward strengthening and

extending the international barriers against the proliferation of nuclear weapons;

-- adherence to such a treaty by all States would contribute substantially to the full achievement of the non-proliferation objective; and

-- the implementation of Article VI is essential to the maintenance and strengthening of the Treaty.

6. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference, in its Final Declaration, called upon the Parties to intensify their efforts to achieve fully the objectives of the Article, and addressed a call to nuclear-weapon States Parties in particular to demonstrate this commitment.

7. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference, in its Final Declaration, reiterated its conviction that the objectives of Article VI remained unfulfilled and concluded that the nuclear-weapon States should make greater effort to ensure effective measures for the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date.

8. The Conference also recalled that the 1985 Review Conference, except for certain States, deeply regretted that a comprehensive multilateral Nuclear Test Ban Treaty banning all tests by all States in all environments for all time had not been concluded so far and, therefore, called on the nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty to resume trilateral negotiations in 1985, and called on all nuclear-weapon States to participate in the urgent negotiation and conclusion of such a Treaty as a matter of the highest priority in the Conference on Disarmament.

D. Developments since 1985

1. The Conference noted with regret that, during the period under review:

-- the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament was not even able to reaffirm the Final Document of the First Special Session;

-- the destructive potentials of the nuclear arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States Parties were undergoing continuing development, including continued testing and development of new delivery systems;

-- although bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America had been held since 1985 to consider questions concerning space and nuclear arms, no agreements relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race had emerged so far;

-- the trilateral negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty, called for by the 1985 Review Conference, had not resumed in 1985 or thereafter;

-- the Conference on Disarmament had been called upon by the General Assembly in ten successive years to begin negotiations on such a Treaty, but that such negotiations had not been initiated; and

-- the last five years had not given any results concerning negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race;

2. The Conference deplored that, in the last five years, despite the ending of the Cold War:

-- a new environment, space, was increasingly being drawn into the arms race;

-- no progress has been made on relevant items of the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, in particular those relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race;

-- the appeals contained in United Nations General Assembly resolutions since 1981 for a moratorium on nuclear weapon testing pending conclusion of a comprehensive test ban Treaty have gone completely unanswered by two of the nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty; and

-- the appeals in ten United Nations General Assembly resolutions since 1982 for a freeze on all nuclear weapons in quantitative and qualitative terms have also gone unanswered.

3. The Conference took note of:

-- the Meeting of the Parties to the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty held in New York from 23 May to 8 June 1990 for the organization of a Conference of the Parties to that Treaty to be held in New York in January 1991 to consider an amendment to convert that Treaty into a comprehensive test ban treaty;

-- the Nuclear Testing Talks between the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the United States of America; and

-- the establishment, without a negotiating mandate, of an ad hoc committee on Nuclear Test Ban by the Conference on Disarmament at its summer 1990 session.

4. The Conference noted that, in its declaration on international security and disarmament, the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade from 4 to 7 September 1989, "underlined that the immediate suspension and comprehensive ban on nuclear tests remained one of the highest priorities of nuclear disarmament" and "called on

the three depositary states of NPT to be forthcoming on nuclear disarmament matters. For the credibility of the NPT regime, these States should fulfill their obligations by agreeing to negotiate a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which is absolutely essential for the preservation of the Non-Proliferation regime embodied in the NPT. Nuclear-weapon states have a responsibility to assure all non-nuclear weapon states, whether parties or non-parties of NPT, against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons by concluding an Agreement to this effect. They, however, remained convinced that the most effective measure to assure non-nuclear weapon states against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is complete cessation of nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament."

E. Conclusions and objectives prior to 1995

1. The Conference concluded that, since no agreements had been achieved in the period under review on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date, the aspirations contained in preambular paragraphs 8 to 12 had still not been met, and the objectives under Article VI had not yet been achieved.

2. The Conference, mindful that only five years remain of the initial term in force of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, reaffirmed that:

-- a comprehensive test ban treaty would make the single most important contribution toward strengthening and extending the international barriers against the proliferation of nuclear weapons;

-- adherence to such a treaty by all States would contribute substantially to the full achievement of the non-proliferation objective; and

-- the implementation of Article VI is essential to the maintenance and strengthening of the Treaty.

3. The Conference declared that:

-- achievement of a multilateral comprehensive test ban treaty prior to 1995 must continue to be accorded absolute priority, as the single most important measure relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date, and

-- the continued testing of nuclear weapons by the nuclear-weapon States Parties to this Treaty would put the future of the Non-Proliferation Treaty beyond 1995 in grave doubt.

4. The Conference urges:

-- all Parties to the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, beginning at the January 1991 Conference, to pursue negotiations in good faith to convert that Treaty into a comprehensive test ban treaty, and to continue their

efforts through as many sessions as necessary to conclude successfully their work;

-- the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to proceed directly and immediately to negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty in their Nuclear Testing Talks;

-- the Conference on Disarmament, at the beginning of its first 1991 session, to give the ad hoc committee on Nuclear Test Ban a mandate to proceed directly to comprehensive test ban treaty negotiations;

-- all States to work for a rational and efficient relationship between the several test-ban negotiating fora with a view to concluding a comprehensive test ban treaty with the widest possible adherence at the earliest possible date prior to 1995.

5. The Conference maintained that the unwillingness of a Party to the Treaty to engage in multilateral comprehensive test ban treaty negotiations shall be deemed an act contrary to the spirit and letter of the Treaty since it represents non-compliance with the obligations under the Treaty.

6. The Conference called upon the Conference on Disarmament to begin negotiations on:

-- the cessation of the production of weapons-grade fissionable material;

-- the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons;

-- the cessation of the production of their delivery vehicles; and

-- the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

II. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

A. Article VI and the Preamble

The Conference undertook an evaluation of the achievement in regard to:

-- the second provision of Article VI, wherein each of the Parties has undertaken to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament;

-- preambular paragraphs 8 and paragraph 9, wherein the Parties declared their intention to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament and urged the cooperation of all states in the attainment of this objective; and

-- preambular paragraph 11, wherein the Parties expressed the desire to further ease international tension and strengthen trust between States in order to facilitate the liquidation of all existing stockpiles and the elimination form national arsenals of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

B. From the Final Declaration of the 1975 Review Conference

1. The Conference recalled that, in the Final Declaration of the 1975 Review Conference, the State Parties:

-- expressed their firm conviction that in order to achieve universal adherence to the Treaty it is essential to maintain, in the implementation of the Treaty, an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of all States Party to the Treaty, nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States;

-- were convinced that the prevention of any further proliferation of nuclear weapons will be furthered by more rapid progress towards the limitation and reduction of existing nuclear weapons;

-- reaffirmed their commitment to implement fully and more effectively the Treaty's provisions; and

-- reaffirmed the vital role of the Treaty in international efforts to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament.

2. The Conference recalled that, in the Final Declaration of the 1975 Conference, the States Parties:

-- urged constant and resolute efforts by each of the Parties to the Treaty, in particular by the nuclear-

weapon States, to achieve an early and effective implementation of Article VI;

-- appealed to the nuclear-weapon States Parties to the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms to endeavour to conclude at the earliest possible date the an initial agreement, and to commence follow-on negotiations for further limitation of, and significant reductions in, their nuclear weapons system as soon as possible; and

-- noted that not withstanding earlier progress, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has recently been able to reach agreement on new substantive measures to advance the objectives of Article VI.

C. From the Final Declaration of the 1985 Review Conference

1. The Conference recalled that, in the Final Declaration of the 1985 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, the States Party to the Treaty solemnly declared:

-- their continued support for the objectives of the Treaty including nuclear disarmament; and

-- their determination to enhance the implementation of the Treaty.

2. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Conference noted in its Final Declaration:

-- that the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations concluded, in paragraph 50 of its Final Document, that the achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiations of agreements for, inter alia, a comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-tables whenever feasible, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their complete and total elimination at the earliest possible date;

-- with regret, that the development and deployment of nuclear weapon systems has continued during the period under review; and

-- that the preceding five years had no given any results concerning negotiations on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament.

3. The Conference also recalled that the 1985 Review Conference took note in its Final Declaration of:

-- the concerns expressed regarding the potential of a new environment, space, being drawn into the arms race;

-- the lack of progress on relevant items of the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, in particular those relating to nuclear disarmament; and

-- the appeals in five United Nations General Assembly resolutions since 1982 for a freeze on all nuclear weapons in quantitative and qualitative terms, and similar calls made at the conference and set out in Annex I of the Final Declaration.

4. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference concluded in its Final Declaration that, since no agreements had been achieved in the period under view on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament, the aspirations contained in preambular paragraphs 8 to 12 had still not been met, and the objectives under Article VI had not yet been achieved.

5. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference in its Final Declaration:

-- welcomed the fact that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were conducting bilateral negotiations on space and nuclear arms, but noted that no agreement had emerged so far;

-- expressed the view such negotiations should complement and ensure the positive outcome of multilateral negotiations on disarmament; and

-- recalled that the two sides believe that ultimately the bilateral negotiations, just as in efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

6. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference, in its Final Declaration, reiterating its conviction that the objectives of Article VI remained unfulfilled:

-- called upon the Parties to intensify their efforts to achieve fully the objectives of the Article;

-- addressed a call to nuclear-weapon States Parties in paraticular to demonstrate this commitment;

-- concluded that the nuclear-weapon States should make greater effort to ensure effective measures for nuclear disarmament; and

-- urged the Conference on Disarmament, as appropriate, to proceed to early multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament in pursuance of paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the First Special Session the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament.

D. Developments since 1985

1. The Conference noted that the efforts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to ensure effective measures for nuclear disarmament had recently yielded some results.

2. The Conference noted with regret:

-- that the INF Treaty resulted primarily in the elimination of intermediate-range ground-based cruise missiles and ballistic missiles deployed some years earlier, that the nuclear warheads of the these systems are not being destroyed, and that deployments of intermediate-range forces are going forward in other basing modes; and

-- that the aim of the START talks, if realized, will leave more strategic nuclear warheads in the arsenals of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America than when the negotiations began in 1982; and

-- that the number of strategic warheads in the arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty have increased three-fold since the entry into force of the Treaty.

3. The Conference noted with regret that, during the period under review:

-- the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament was not able to reach agreement even on reaffirming the Final Document of the First Special Session;

-- no progress on items of the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament relating to nuclear disarmament has been made; and

-- the appeals in ten United Nations General Assembly resolutions since 1982 for a freeze on all nuclear weapons in quantitative and qualitative terms have also gone unanswered.

4. The Conference expressed its regret that the bilateral negotiations had not complemented nor ensured the positive outcome of multilateral negotiations on disarmament, and reaffirmed the view that ultimately the bilateral negotiations, just as in efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

5. The Conference noted that, despite the ending of the Cold War, the destructive potentials of the nuclear arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States Parties were undergoing continuing development, including the development and deployment of new delivery systems.

E. Conclusion and objectives prior to 1995

1. The Conference concluded that:

-- the undertaking of Parties to the Treaty to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmameant has not been fulfilled; and

-- that recently agreed measures when implemented, and projected measures if realised, are inadequate, since they will leave deployed in 1995 not less but many more nuclear weapons than were deployed in 1970.

2. The Conference, mindful that only five years remain of the initial term in force of the Treaty, reaffirmed that:

-- a freeze on the deployment of nuclear weapons while negotiations on reductions are underway is the only way of ensuring that deep cuts can be achieve;

-- a time-table for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of deliver is the only way to ensure the complete elimination of nuclear weapons at an early date; and

-- an arms race in space would impede, stall, or reverse efforts to reduce nuclear arsenals and must therefore be prevented.

3. The Conference declared:

-- that a freeze on the deployment of nuclear weapons must be accorded high priority;

-- that the continued deployment of new nuclear weapons systems by nuclear weapon States Parties to this Treaty would put the future of the Non-Proliferation Treaty beyond 1995 in grave doubt.

III. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

A. Article VI and the Preamble

The Conference undertook an evaluation of the achievements in regard to:

-- the final provision of Article VI, wherein each of the Parties has undertaken to pursue negotiations in good faith on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effect international control; and

-- preambular paragraph 11, wherein the measures referred to in preceding clauses of paragraph 11 are pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effect international control.

B. From the Final Declaration of the 1975 Review Conference

The Conference recalled that the 1975 Conference, in the Final Declaration, expressed the hope that all States Party to the Treaty, through the United Nations and the CCD and other negotiations in which they participate, will work with determination towards the conclusion of an arms limitation and disarmament agreements which will contribute to the goal of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

C. From the Final Declaration of the 1985 Review Conference

1. The Conference recalled that, in the Final Declaration of the 1985 Review Conference, the States Party to the Treaty solemnly declared:

-- their continued support for the objectives of the Treaty which includes the a Treaty on general and complete disarmament; and

-- their determination to enhance the implementation of the Treaty.

2. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference took note in its Final Declaration of the lack of progress on relevant items of the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament.

3. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference concluded in its Final Declaration that, since no agreements had been achieved in the period under review on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, the aspiration contained in preambular paragraph 11 had still not been met, and the objective under Article VI had not yet been achieved.

4. The Conference recalled that the 1985 Review Conference, in its Final Declaration, reiterating its conviction that the objectives of Article VI remained unfulfilled:

-- called upon the Parties to intensify their efforts to achieve fully the objectives of the Article;

-- addressed a call to nuclear-weapon States Parties in particular to demonstrate this commitment; and

-- concluded that the nuclear-weapon States should make greater effort to ensure effective measures for a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effecftive international control.

D. Developments since 1985

1. The Conference noted the lack of progress in the Conference on Disarmament on the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

2. The Conference noted the failure of the Third Special Session on Disarmamaent to reaffirm the Final Declaration of the First Special Session.

E. Conclusion

The Conference concluded that, since no agreements had been achieved in the period under view on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, the aspiration contained in preambular paragraph 11 had still not been met, and the objective under Article VI had not yet been achieved.